

# An Ethnographic Study on Heritage Preservation in Bo-Kaap

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Media (Theory & Practice).

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## Biography

Shannon Correia is a Masters in Media Theory & Practice scholar at the University of Cape Town. She has a keen interest in Bo-Kaap and will be completing a creative thesis project on the area, investigating the culture and growing gentrification faced by the community. She previously completed her Honours in Journalism at Wits University.

## Key Words

Bo-Kaap, Gentrification, Heritage, Islam, Culture

## Abstract

This research paper analyses the culture and community in Bo-Kaap, which is battling to preserve its heritage amid growing gentrification. Gentrification in this area is analysed as a special case in point, as although gentrification is happening in other neighbourhoods in Cape Town, Bo-Kaap is the home of Islam in South Africa, and is geographically set in a prime location of the city. This research paper includes an ethnographic study, as well as a photographic essay and a podcast series which supports the research in creative forms. The researcher interviewed several people from the area to discern the culture and the issues faced by the community. This paper examines the ethnographic lived experience of the researcher, as well as that of a local family. Three main events are examined to provide insight into the culture and community, namely an AirBnb traditional cooking experience, Eid AlAdha and the visit to the area by the Duke and Duchess of Sussex. The findings of this paper show that significant changes have and continue to occur, although the community is resilient in their efforts to preserve the culture. This research aims to provide additional and alternative records of the culture of the community as it stands in present day, in a holistic research effort. It also showcases the importance of the rich culture of the community which society needs to ensure is preserved.

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### Introduction

Bo-Kaap's culture and heritage are deeply rooted in Islam, as "Bo-Kaap is by many regarded as the cradle of Islam in South Africa" (Davids, 1980, pp 6). This paper aims to provide an ethnographic examination of heritage protection in Bo-Kaap, amid its battle to preserve the community's culture despite the growing threats presented by gentrification.

This research paper includes a literature review citing previous research on gentrification in Cape Town and Bo-Kaap in particular, the historical significance of Islam in Bo-Kaap, the preservation of Islamic heritage and the importance of anthropological studies. The literature has been selected to provide a well-balanced overview of the various aspects of this research report.

The research conducted for this paper includes a history on the arrival and importance of Islam in Bo-Kaap. The methodology included an immersive ethnographic study, which involved the re-searcher becoming fully immersed in the area and culture. This is accompanied by a creative thesis project, which includes a photographic essay and a podcast series.

Previous research is outdated and has addressed gentrification in isolation, and there is a gap in noting Bo-Kaap as a unique area, specifically in terms of its Islamic history and culture. This includes Donaldson, Ronnie et al's 2013 study titled *An Uneasy Match: Neoliberalism, Gentrification and Heritage Conservation in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town, South Africa* and Nico Kotze's 2013 article titled *A community in trouble? The impact of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town*. The heritage status which has been granted earlier this year is a recent occurrence, therefore research in regard has yet to be published. It also seeks to present varied forms of research through different mediums as it is in present day, collated as an analysis on the culture.

It is critical to examine this as gentrification is rapidly changing the landscape and dynamics of the area, which has been under-protected by the city of Cape Town (Donaldson, 2013 p 175), and the community who is already marginalised holds a wealth of cultural significance in a prime location, which attracts tourists to the area on a daily basis (Donaldson, 2013, p 176). Media articles that provide insight into news developments and critical background information on the Bo-Kaap include the *Cape Times*'s "Bo-Kaap becomes official, finally after long fight," referring to the official renaming of the area and losing the previous names which had Dutch origins (Adriaanse, 2016), and *Daily Mavericks*'s "There will be affordable inner-city housing in Cape Town, but only when the plans are finalised" (Payne, 2019).

The Bo-Kaap neighbourhood's culture is rooted in community and traditions which date back centuries. The researcher looked at the visible signs of lived realities in the neighbourhood of daily life and the signifiers of gentrification through a photographic essay. The podcast series showcases the voices of members of the community, from the likes of author Shafiq Morton to TV producer Munier Parker to name but a couple, in raw and unfiltered discussions regarding their lived experiences and thoughts on the issues facing the community. Finally, in terms of the ethnography in this research paper, there is an examination of the lived experience of the researcher, as well as that of a local family. Three main events are examined to provide insight into the culture and community, namely an AirBnb traditional cooking experience, Eid AlAdha and the visit to the area by the Duke and Duchess of Sussex.

This ethnographic study provides understanding of what makes this community unique, and why the battle to preserve its heritage so imperative. Although research on gentrification affecting this area has been explored, this research investigates the issues of gentrification and the impact which it has on the culture, signifying the resilience of the people and the importance of the preservation of their heritage.

When approaching the methodology for this research, ethical considerations were taken into account when deciding on the best ways to conduct the research. Ethnography was a missing research design in terms of the research which has been done on Bo-Kaap. As a researcher investigating culture, this was the best option as an outsider who then immersed oneself in order to document observations. To ensure that this work was not one-sided, a multimedia approach was taken. With the inclusion of the creative elements, visuals were documented through photography and through audio, the voices of those who have stories and memories of the area were able to be shared, without having someone else write their respective stories. This varied approach to the research allowed for the scope to be increased, as the inclusive themes covered memories and the preservation of culture through audio, visual dualities present in the neighbourhood itself and with ethnography, an explorative approach to investigating culture.

#### Personal introduction to the topic

My first introduction to Bo-Kaap was in late 2015, whilst visiting a close friend who was originally from Cape Town. We drove up Wale Street (pronounced "whale" and not "Wa-Le" as I presumed, like the R&B singer from the US) and parked alongside a spaza shop which had a red CocaCola mural on its walls. It was a perfect photo opportunity, as was the Palestinian flag flying from the doorstep of someone's house. I had been involved with BDS in Johannesburg, so the cause was close to me, and I had never seen such open support for it before. Once, when I placed a BDS sticker on the back of my car, I noticed scratches appear until I realised it was not the best idea. But seeing that flag billowing in the wind felt different here. My knowledge at the time was that of a typical tourist visiting the area: this was a Cape Malay area, with many beautifully colourful houses which made for an Instagram haven.

Flash-forward to the end of 2018, I was scrolling through my Facebook feed when I saw photos of Bo-Kaap. I saw videos and images of a protest, held mostly by the elderly. The protesters were peaceful, blocking off the road in order to stop a crane from coming in to the area. Placards read "SAVE OUR HERITAGE," as this was all in an effort to curb the ongoing and growing gentrification in the area. Private security dressed in black were present, as were police, who both retaliated with violence, in the form of tear gas, stun grenades and arrests.

Having been actively involved in the Fees Must Fall movement, I was experiencing a case of PTSD and anger, as these protesters were elderly not only could I imagine how difficult it must have been for them to deal with, but the fact is, they have fought their fight during apartheid and it was upsetting to see them have to stand on the frontlines once more. I was in Johannesburg at the time, so the most I could do was be an armchair activist. I watched live streams of the meetings and followed the news which predominantly came directly from sources on Facebook, beginning to learn about the issues at hand. I posted across my social media platforms about it, including Instagram, of course, with an old photo of

me in front a pink house, with the words "Everyone wants a photo here with the pretty colourful houses. How many would stand up for it though? It means so much more than that. Fuck gentrification."

I knew this wouldn't have been enough, though. I was interested in moving to Cape Town the following year and beginning my masters in media at UCT. Suddenly, I had my thesis sitting in front of me; this was a story that needed to be told. I decided to opt for the Creative Project thesis, which required an essay and creative project of your choice. To me, this topic was sensitive, and needed to be told by those who have lived in Bo-Kaap. It was their voices that needed to be heard, not mine. So it was decided: I would make a podcast and explore different themes of the area, exploring what the heritage of the area is, and why it is imperative to preserve it.

## **Literature Review**

### Gentrification

Gentrification is a key theme to this research, as it is what is disrupting the neighbourhood of Bo Kaap, and bringing change and potential threat to the community's longstanding culture. In order to provide adequate background information on gentrification, the topic has been examined in a broader sense by relating to Cape Town, and then by honing in on the existing research of gentrification in Bo-Kaap specifically.

Urban theories from the global north have been implemented and redeveloped in the global south through gentrification and downward raiding. Both of these concepts present urban class-based change. A charity-based agenda has been pushed forward, breaking away from the aggressive neoliberal agenda, in order to make the city a place for all in other words, inclusive of and addressing the needs of the poor. This approach sought to achieve urban management and social development (Didier et al. 2013).

Since the 1990s, the North American Business Improvement District (BID) model has been adopted in South African cities under the name of City Improvement District (CID), to support urban regeneration strategies in a context of changing and declining urban economies (Didier et al. 2013). BID's are self-taxing schemes which add services to an area in order to enhance and promote its attractiveness (Didier et al. 2013). CIDs are broadly conceptualised with neoliberalism and are challenged by social movements (Didier et al. 2013).

Cape Town's inner city has been cleaned up in recent years with programmes such as the CityCentre Improvement District (CCID) (Kotze, 2013). Due to its close proximity to the CBD, these developments have impacted Bo-Kaap. Bo-Kaap is affected by neoliberalism, as evidenced by residential spaces in the CBD and their socioeconomic transformations, which has impacted the culture and heritage of the community (Donaldson, 2013 p1). Donaldson notes "The architectural heritage aspects and significance of the area are charming and relevant, with its painted homes and cobblestone streets, but without the people (its intangible heritage) the area will lose the greatest part of its heritage significance." Furthermore, "Gentrification, it is argued, is incorporated into public policy and the byproduct of a range of contemporary neoliberal urban development policies intent on attracting investment capital." Balance is needed in order to create a dichotomy between development and historical and cultural preservation. The author goes on to state that the character of the community is evident, as well as the sense of unity through familiarity (Donaldson, 2013, pp 1-2).

"While gentrification debates largely reference the northern central city, downward raiding is reserved for the southern 'slum'. In contrast, this research develops 'hybrid gentrification' as a concept and methodological approach that demonstrates how non-northern urban experiences can and should create and refine urban theory" (Lemanski, 2014). This is evidenced in the research by varying interpretations of gentrification and how residents would like to see their heritage preserved, yet still catering to the tourists.

Gentrification is defined by the changing of class, in terms of both the residents (higher class) and the physical characteristics of a neighbourhood (Lemanski, 2014). When this occurs, displacement of the lower class groups occurs. This occurs with downward raiding too, though the neighbourhoods are often in lower-income areas which are informal settlements and it is the middle class who are the 'raiders.' Gentrification is academically seen as an urban studies theme, while urban raiding is less prevalent (Lemanski, 2014). The case in Bo-Kaap pertains to gentrification, as it is higher socioeconomic class moving in and the area itself is a neighbourhood, though there historically is a small informal settlement within the boundaries of the area. These entrants are making physical changes to the area in terms of upgrades and developments, which is resulting in the displacement and exclusion of the lower class residents.

Gentrification is noted as being significant in the South African context in two ways: informal housing is further held in place, instead of being eradicated; and the post-apartheid vision of equality is squandered as property ownership becomes predominantly accessible to the high class, who then control the housing market and leave the displaced unable to attain wealth through property ownership (Lemanski, 2014).

The now "trendy, sought-after area with lots of appeal for visitors to Cape Town ... must have had a negative impact upon the older generation still residing in the area, who would desperately like to preserve the old "Cape Malay Muslim" character of the area," notes Kotze (2013). Muslim slaves arrived in the Cape as early as the seventeenth century. As an all encompassing belief system, there are Islamic mannerisms that inform all aspects of life. For Muslims in Cape Town, Islam is a foundation for identity and daily routines (Motala, 2013). This therefore informs the cultural heritage of the majority of Bo-Kaap residents, as the area has been home to Islam and the Muslim community for several generations, a closely interwoven facet of the character of the area.

"Gentrification involves the displacement of working class populations, a phenomena most obviously manifest in the transformation of residential landscapes. But this is also palpable in the changes visible on many shopping streets, with locally oriented stores serving poorer populations and ethnic minorities being replaced by 'hipster' stores such as 'real coffee' shops, vintage clothing stores and bars serving microbrews" (Hubbard, 2016). This is the issue facing Bo-Kaap, as these changes displace the people who have built the culture and heritage of the area. Examples of how gentrification unfold in other areas of the world are applicable here too: "with the replacement of corner cafés by coffee shops, convenience 'ethnic' grocery stores by delis and pubs by wine bars often depicted as a vital first stage in gentrification processes culminating in the upscaling of entire neighbourhoods" (Hubbard, 2016). However, this upscaling is relative to the viewer and erodes the presiding culture and way of life.

As property prices continue to increase and generations change, more outsiders will move in, and Kotze's speculations that: "this very charming neighbourhood will lose its most distinctive characteristic landmarks" (Kotze, 2013). This speculation, along with the statement of fear and the attitudes of residents, one is left with a "strong sense that this group will do everything in its power to keep its neighbourhood and cultural heritage intact" (Kotze, 2013).

### Islam

In order to understand the critical link between the Bo-Kaap and Islam, one must familiarise themselves with one of the seventeenth century Muslim slaves brought to the Cape, Tuan Guru. Tuan Guru was master teacher of Islam, whose life has been documented in a newly published book by Shafiq Morton. He resided in Bo-Kaap for parts of his life, aided in the growth and formalisation of Islam in the Cape, as well as the Muslim community and culture.

To be considered Muslim and a member of the Muslim community, one must have shahada, or a declaration of Islamic faith (Motala, 2013). Islam is a universal religion, emphasising a way of life for all and as a unifier for those who practise it (Motala, 2013). Bo-Kaap has a number of mosques and most of the families who reside in the area are Muslim, which has greatly influenced the culture practiced in and by the community. It is therefore an integral theme pertaining to this research.

Tuan Guru was able to grow Islam from within the community, and was thus able to boost the morale of slaves. Morton successfully describes how Tuan Guru was able to stand up to his colonialists, by effectively evading the authorities through language, which resulted in general morale boosting. His contribution cannot be underestimated, as the slaves could rely on accessing a sense of 'freedom' through prayer (Morton, 68). Furthermore, it displays a passive yet powerful approach to resisting the colonial system. This is in addition to the contributions Tuan Guru made, as explained in Chapter 9 of Shafiq Morton's *From the Spice Islands to Cape Town: The Life and Times of Tuan Guru*, by educating people about Islam, by formalising the religion and creating infrastructure for it, and, of course, producing the actual texts of the Quran and the Ma'rifat (way of life).

The area of Bo-Kaap, being the home of Islam in the country, where calls to prayer are heard by all of the community on a daily basis, is therefore one of the main elements of the culture and heritage which the residents are fighting to preserve. This is further explained by tasawwuf, which "has been, and still very much is, a living tradition amongst almost all sectors of Muslim society and therefore of immense relevance to Islam at the Cape." Tasawwuf is a "process which sets out to literate what is perceived as the lower self from its worldly attachments ... To assist in this process certain methods or spiritual supports ... are prescribed all of which has, as its final aim, the realisation of the Unity of Being (Hendricks, 2005, p 35). This describes the exploration and embrace of Islamic spirituality and "manifests itself at two different but complimentary levels the communal and the personal" (Hendricks, 2005, p 397).

### Culture

To understand what the Bo-Kaap residents mean when the community says: "Save our Heritage," one must examine what heritage is, and particularly Islamic heritage, as that is the foundation and cornerstone of this area and community. It is argued "Islamic history should be imagined as an ever-expanding web of overlapping and competing discourses about the past" (Bashi, 2017, p 13), therefore it is important to note the history of the area, and the important links to Islam which had been made since the arrival of the first Muslim slaves in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, "What is to be regarded as Islamic heritage depends fundamentally on the frame within which it was produced" (Bashi, 2017, p 13).

In the present day, meanings circulate visually (Roffo, 1998), which makes the study of visuals key to understanding the world and cultures. It provides the "opportunity to reconsider some of the present culture's thorniest problems from yet another angle" (Roffo, 1998). Visual culture is an emergent field which is inclusive of the study of images. However, it also has a "focus on the centrality of vision and the visual world in producing meanings, establishing and maintaining aesthetic values, gender stereotypes and power relations within visual culture. At another level we recognise that opening up the field of vision as an arena in which cultural meanings get constituted, also simultaneously anchors to it an entire range of analyses and interpretations" (Roffo, 1998).

"Multimodal Anthropologies reflects changes in the media ecologies we engage as anthropologists, changes that have broadened our perspective to include other forms of media practice, while remaining inclusive of visual anthropology" (Collins et al., 2017). The creative thesis I publish will be multimodal, and this photo essay can be viewed as an element to aid the podcast. The final published work will be of significance as this approach is "both descriptive and prescriptive. It characterises the way people work and conduct research in the contemporary world, and implores us to conceive of anthropological

research and scholarship beyond the finished, reified products of fieldwork or labwork ... Instead, we are encouraged to engage in varying processes of knowledge production that often lead to multiple outcomes" (Collins et al., 2017). This body of work will therefore be substantive when considering the research and data involved.

## **Methodology**

### Positionality

I had befriended Dahraan Abrahams, a cousin of the friend who originally introduced me to the area and asked him for advice. This was the starting point of my research as it provided me with contacts and insight into how to approach the topic. I was, however, nervous about my positionality. His family, the Abrahams, have ties to the area, as they all share, live in, and work from a house in Bo Kaap's Lion Street. Mr. Abrahams had this to say:

"You have good, all encompassing topics. Then you also made mention of the method podcasts, I think that's an excellent approach. There's a real issue with current news and confidence in the media, as there exists many biases. I also think you are the perfect person to delve in to these issues that Bo-Kaap is being faced with, you've immersed yourself in a fair amount of the culture before, you know with Eid and Ramadan, the family functions you attended, so you are aware of the customs and that sort of thing. So because of this, I think you have a good understanding of the culture, the culture which in fact originated in Bo-Kaap. With regard to a mediator, I don't think that's necessary. Bo-Kaap is a fairly safe place and the people who live there are very hospitable, friendly, welcoming and approachable. You shouldn't have a problem, but if you want someone to tag along, I myself can come with you, or there is Zahir."

Zahir Abrahams one of Dahraan's cousins who currently lives at the house in Lion Street. A house which Mr. Abrahams said "Is open to you at anytime. They love visitors and will be happy to have you. Zahir would be really stoked, and he's great company." I then went to visit Zahir, and to get his feedback as a second opinion. When I spoke to him about unpacking the culture, he had this to say: "I think we need to define what culture is and all the things we incorporate in it, like language, cuisine, heritage." I mentioned my themes and while he said I was on point, he enlightened me to one section which I had left out, which was language. He explained, "that's something I learned very recently. A lot of the words we use show the ties that exist between us and Indonesia."

As a researcher, I wanted to immerse myself in the area. With that, I started looking for accommodation and found the perfect room online that would become my home. My entry into the area was secured with this accommodation and the meeting with Mr. Abrahams, which became the starting point for this research.

For this ethnography, I will refer to everyday life in the area, both as a participant and as an observer. I will narrate intimate moments and experiences in order to understand the dynamics of the area, as well as the culture which exists and is at risk.

I visited Zahir, who had this to say, providing a wonderful start to this ethnographic journey:

"Have you heard the term kaparang slaps? It's a Malaysian word for a flip flop, which we had. And for thank you, we say kassiam, like what does that mean, where does that come from? They say tramakassim. I learnt from one of our Indonesian guests, the words that we use, which they use in Indonesia too. At the book launch of Shafiq Morton's "From the Spice Islands to Cape Town," Zahir's Aunt Rosa said that the Ambassador of Indonesia mentioned that People there, and here, call each other "paring," we didn't know that it's Indonesian for brother. So a lot of the things we say are rooted in Indonesian words which are still used today. Did you know that the first Afrikaans script was written in Arabic? You can For us the term "slamse" isn't derogatory, like I call my granny a slamse because she's so gedoeke and things like that. Our descendants,



so my great-great-great-great-great-great grandfather, is a slave from Java. They came here as skilled immigrants. He lived in this house and he built this house and the house next door as one unit. You'll see they kind of look the same. This was the same with the two after this house, and the two after that. Those were for his sons, and when they got married, they moved in there. When I was younger, we still lived here, one of our aunts lived next door and my grandfather's brother lived in the last house. So what I'm trying to say is that the actual descendants were forced to stay here; it was what was convenient at the time. They still here; we still here. And today, a lot of the people are still in the same houses, like us. Aunt Nabuya, who has two houses next door and he one on the corner, she actually has to work above her pension in order to pay her rates and feed her family. It's not like community is an option, it's really imposed upon you. This is not a neighbourhood, this is a community if I don't know you, I'll know your dad type-of-thing. That type of thing is precious and with gentrification, it is being lost. I mean I couldn't walk outside and not greet everyone I know. (It was then when Aunt Fayruza came in, and, of course as is customary, asked me to stay for dinner.)

### Immersion

With the research topic set, immersion began to take place. The research therefore includes an analysis of the observations made and experiences had as a new comer to the area, as well as in examining the family dynamics of my friend in Lion Street, as a point of understanding the generational aspect of heritage. Following this, three particular events which had occurred throughout the year, which are reflective of the culture, have been examined. These include an AirBnb experience, Eid and a visit by the Duke and Duchess of Sussex.

In terms of photography used as a means of research, it was a technique which was used to further explore the topic of gentrification in Bo-Kaap. This provides an exploration of the visual elements of gentrification through the signifiers and many presiding contradictions within the neighbourhood, amid a battle to preserve its heritage.

"Photography, one of the tools anthropologists use for their research, compounds problems of control and interpretation of information. Anthropologists have used the photographic image for research data, for presentation to the professional community, and for public consumption" (Banta & Hinsley, 1986). This photo essay therefore aids in anthropological research, as a means of visually understanding the situation in the area. "Armed with a camera, anthropologists can probe, scan, magnify, reduce, isolate, contrast, debase, or idealise their subjects. Through photography, they can create, disseminate, and forever seal in their own interpretations of humankind ... Photographs can render the exotic familiar, enhance commonplace, capture movement in real time, reveal unseen features, and present remote perspectives" (Banta & Hinsley, 1986).

"The understanding of photographs cannot be contained in the relation between the visual and its material support but rather through an expanded sensory realm of the social in which photographs are put to work (Edwards, 2012)." This has brought to my attention the need for such photographic essays, as they could aid in the understanding of the changes occurring in the area for those who are unable to witness it. This could therefore be a beneficial source for the activists of the area. "The shifts from meaning alone to mattering and from content to social process are integral to material approaches to photographs and have demanded an analytical approach that acknowledges the plurality of modes of experience of the photograph as tactile, sensory things that exist in time and space and are constituted by and through social relations" (Edwards, 2012).

When photography was first employed for anthropological study, it was often more concerned with the body than the people. "Later photographs offered glimpses of social and cultural context" (Grimshaw, 2001). However anthropologists discovered "the body in question, removed from its usual surroundings, was often singularly uncommunicative about culture" (MacDougall, 1997). These photographs

demonstrate the lives of the people of Bo-Kaap through their surroundings, and are telling, despite the fact that photographs of people were not the focus of this essay. "The anthropological 'body,' in fact, included much more, extending outwards from the person to include the social group, the physical setting, the fields and pastures, the dwellings, implements and other possessions. Photographs and artefacts helped fill this gap and took some of the pressure off the living person, who could now be assumed to exist at the fieldwork site. If anything, the absence of the person strengthened the importance of the visual, which through photographs, films and museum artefacts began to replace it." (MacDougall, 1997.)

Visual photographs of Bo-Kaap are captured daily. When studying visuals and visuality, a key aspect to consider is that of the gaze. The significance of "gaze" for intercultural relations in the photograph, and to present a typology of the kinds of gaze that can be found in the photograph and its social context must be explored (Lutz & Collins, 1991). "The invention of photography offered the gaze an absolute plane of visual immobility, a plane on which all movement is frozen, transformed into a still picture that can be contemplated without disturbance" (Azoulay, 2008). There are seven gazes which have been identified (Lutz & Collins, 1991), though the three to note in this context are the photographer's gaze, as the result of several months of immersion in the area in an ethnographic study; and the academic gaze, for purposes of conducting this fieldwork and research; and the readers gaze, which is subjective.

What makes this work anthropological is that it shows the environment in which people live in Bo Kaap, which directly influences the way of life in the area, and what makes up the culture one which has historical roots. Bo-Kaap is a relatively small neighbourhood and community, and one which I have been studying ethnographically this year. This has informed the context of the research, and suits this anthropological study well, as it shows a holistic overview of the issues faced by the area.

That spirit of the politic can be seen in Bo-Kaap's affiliations with Palestine, which are arguably the most visible in the country. During the apartheid era, South Africa faced an international boycott, divestment, and sanctions campaign, "Initiated in the 1950s and carried through to the early 1990s" and is "perhaps the best illustration of the efficacy of this nonviolent strategy" (Di Stefano & Henaway, 2014). "The application of BDS in the South African struggle against apartheid was essential in achieving freedom and democracy for South Africans" (Di Stefano & Henaway, 2014). Today, the BDS campaign is "waged by Palestinian civil society and international solidarity groups ... the campaign focuses on international law and human rights" (Di Stefano & Henaway, 2014).

The observations I made during the research have been explored and recorded in a descriptive, narrative documentation. Narrative communication has been selected as a methodology as it is appropriate to ethnographic studies and is a technique which humans use to communicate, from meanings and make sense of the world. The researchers interpretations of these occurrences have been documented alongside the descriptive recounts in summarised discoveries.

### The Podcast Methodology

The podcasting took the form of a series of eight interviews. The goal was to speak to a group of key figures within the Bo-Kaap community, who would be able to shed light on the issues and memories they have, in order to discover the stories of culture, ultimately uncovering the importance of heritage preservation. Most importantly, it gave the interviewees a platform to share their thoughts and tell their story, as it is with no rewriting by researcher.

As a researcher, my role was to research and interview. Each person was selected in order to cover a specific aspect of the research and story, and the interviews were capped at seven as saturation began to occur.

There is an introductory episode in which I explain the purpose of the podcast series. Following the introductory episode, is my interview with Zahir Abrahams. The placement of this interview at this point was due to him my first interviewee.

While conducting research on the area, I read Shafiq Mortons recently published book, *From the Spice Islands of Cape Town – The Life and Times of Tuan Guru*. I reached out to him for an interview and we conducted the interview in his home office. As a journalist and author, he was a key member's voice to include in the podcast, especially from an academic point of view.

At this point, I needed to include a source from a tourism perspective. This was the reason for my interview with tour guide Bilqees Baker. She was also able to provide insight into Bo-Kaap from an activists point of view, which was also a key part of this research and provided a segue to my next interviewee.

In order to include a male voice on tourism and one that had not assimilated in the area, but was rather brought up in Bo-Kaap, I spoke with Yusuf Voterson. He shared childhood memories with me and touched on various topics, which rounded up the series and hence was included as the 8th and final episode.

In order to include another media perspective, I spoke with Munier Parker. In 2018, when protests occurred in Bo-Kaap due to a new development in the area (and heritage preservation amid growing gentrification). Munier recorded much of what was happening live on Facebook. This is how I was introduced to the protests and the community meetings which took place.

I spoke with Shereen Misbach who published the book *Mix It! Voices of the Bo-Kaap*, as she was able to share from her vast collection of stories and childhood memories with me.

The Noon Gun was included as it is a longstanding tradition in Cape Town which happens in the area. Each day at exactly 12h00, one of the two cannon guns is fired from its position in the high-lying areas of Bo-Kaap.

## **Findings & Analysis**

### Everyday Life - Personal Experience Living in the Area

This ethnography begins with myself, the researcher moving into the area. It explores the accommodation options which would come to play an integral part of my research as it was my base in the area, and formed an interesting part of the research itself, especially with regard to assimilating to culture and exploring gentrification from the other side. Through this, I learned about the loss of neighbourliness and the fate of houses once sold, to accommodate other new comers into the area. Though there were challenges, I loved my stay in Bo-Kaap - it was an incredibly special time as I became part of the community, while 'enjoying' all of the gentrified benefits of Bo-Kaap, such as being a stones throw away from town and having impressive views of the city and sea. It was this which inspired the photographic essay, as a means to document the glaring disparities of the neighbourhood due to gentrification.

In order to immerse myself in the area, I needed to be staying there. Based on budgeting and the options available, I moved into a house share. This is, of course, paradoxical as it is part of the 'gentrification problem,' but it was also a way in and allowed me to observe things from both sides of the spectrum. There are some families who host guests, though these are often foreign students from the Middle East.

With that predisposition, I moved into my room, which had one bright yellow wall. Inside the en suite was a double bed, an old wooden cupboard and a desk. The room had five small framed images of Bo-Kaap, and one framed canvas of Cape Town's skyline. My room was located on the top floor and was

one of the five rooms upstairs. There was a balcony, open for everyone to use, with a view of trees, the city of Cape Town and even the harbour. There were 20 house rules which were based on respect of resources and each other. Some notable mentions are "absolutely no prostitutes ... not even friendly ones!" ; "OMG please don't ever steal food from your housemates!!" and "Respect that Bo-Kaap is a muslim area and don't drink opening having over the balcony with a beer bottle in your hand while you wave at the neighbours ... but no problem to have the beer."

In this house, I became an observer as a participant. There were two rooms downstairs, and one outside in a cottage. Also on this level was a brightly painted striped wall, leading to the common lounge area and kitchen. There were three framed artworks hanging behind the long dining table which was colourful and displayed figures. If one examined it closely, you'd notice it was depicting scenes of an orgy a rather strange choice in decor. When it came to the kitchen, everyone had a small shelf or locker, which was perfect for those who didn't cook, and cumbersome for those that did. There was also one shelf which held a range of cupboard staples left behind by others who had stayed at the house. I once sat down to go through everything on this shelf, and ended up with two black bags full of expired tinned food and spices which were now home to all sorts of creatures.

What I would come to discover is that I was the one who cooked the most in the house. Since the house was furnished, we had all the appliances and utensils necessary to make meals. There were three fridges which we all shared. I cooked meals which lasted me two days, and occasionally, the French housemates who were a couple did too, sitting for dinner at the table with glasses of red wine. The rest relied on frozen readymade meals from FitChef (which cost a fortune), others ordered in from delivery services almost everyday and two of the housemates were very health conscious, making smoothies and wraps predominantly. Aside from the couple, everyone got their food and went to their respective rooms to eat there was no 'family' dynamic to speak of. When one was short of an ingredient, it was rude not to message a fellow housemate and ask for permission to use theirs. This is far removed from the neighbourly and family orientated lifestyle of the Bo-Kaap, of which the community has been built upon.

The roommates were as follows: there were three French people: a couple and another (who also stayed with his local girlfriend, and had stayed in this house before, deciding to return), all of whom were completing internships. There were also two brothers who were both actuaries, who did not interact often. One was scarcely seen around the house, opting to remain in his room when he was not at work, and the other who would frequently sit at the table in the lounge to 'journal' and discuss his polyamorous status, closely linked to his Africa Burn community group, whenever asked. Then there was another local who had a job as an art curator at the Zeits Mokka museum. A girl down-stairs who decided to quit her freelance digital career to work on creating a clothing brand and work as a waitress at night. Finally, the roommate outside, who had stayed at another house share in the area, but found it to be too raucous, who worked from home occasionally as a business consultant.

A typical day in Bo-Kaap begins with the first call to prayer (Adhan) as the sun rises. Everyone then gets up and ready, with neighbours also leaving for work and school. On weekends, teenagers sit on the pavements, which often illicit confusion of the new comers to the area, but is in fact an integral part of the culture of Bo-Kaap. The call to prayer is sounded five times a day from two of the mosques in the area. At 12 o'clock, there is the sound of an explosion from the noon gun, a tradition which has presided for many years. On Tuesdays, you often hear the sound of a vuvuzela from the back of a bakkie, which is filled with freshly caught fish for anyone in the neighbourhood who wants to buy some. Wednesdays, the trash is collected. Fridays, the mosque's are especially busy at lunchtime for Jumma. When you're short of milk or bread, there are a couple of spaza shops run by immigrants, which you can pop into on a cash only basis, though it is the norm for locals to run a tab with them when they are short on change.

Approaching, you'll notice the cobble stoned road leading uphill, which has remained as is for many years. It provides a solid foundation to the history of the area, although it always instigates complaints from Uber drivers. The roads in the area are generally quite steep and narrow, bar the wide roads of Leeuwen and Wale. Meeting the streets are the houses, most of which are painted in vivid colours. During the summer months, I would walk straight into town and back with Zahir. This went throughout the election period, where we saw DA posters being put high up on streetlight posts too high for one to reach and take down which made reference to load shedding under the ANC. ANC posters were visible too, and surprisingly so were the GOOD party's. The ANC were the party who pushed for Heritage status to be granted in Bo-Kaap, after the DA had stifled the process (especially, allegedly under the management of Patricia De Lille, who then started the GOOD party), but who have also been supportive of gentrification in other areas, and of the nation of Israel, which contradicts the fabric of society in Bo-Kaap. Bo-Kaap is visibly supportive of Palestine. Hanging above Wale Street are Palestinian flags, and on one building the word "Hamas" has been painted on in large capital letters.

However, as the winter months settled in, the area became less safe to be walking around in, especially at night. A French student had been stabbed standing in Chiappini Street and there were a lot of homeless people who set up their belongings and laid their heads to rest on various pavements of the area. I also once experienced an encounter with a group of about ten young boys, probably around ten years old. I was sitting in my car when they surrounded it, asked for "change Aunty," and then told me to rev the car as I said I needed to leave. One of the boys then jumped on the car, refusing to get off and by the time I left, some stones were thrown my way from a couple of them. Zahir noted that he saw them throw stone's at a "bergie" down the road too.

The house I stayed at belonged to a white woman from the Eastern Cape. She had three houses in the area one which was her residential house, and two which were large house shares. I came to discover that most of the homes bought in the area belong to wealthy folk, usually foreigners, who then renovate and Airbnb or convert the houses to house shares. With this, there has been an influx of new people to the area, who stay for short to medium periods. Since the house was filled with people in their mid twenties, they often went out on weekends. Before leaving the house, there would be pre-drinks held at the house. During these periods, music would be played in the front section of the house from a speaker, and alcohol and drugs would be consumed openly. This too caused a rift which upsets the peace of the otherwise quiet neighbourhood, engaging in activities which were haram not just the drinking, but the couples living together too, and the people who would sometimes spend the night.

A few houses away, there were dogs who often barked. This bothered the one French housemate, who went to complain about it twice. The rental of R6000 was inclusive of just the furnished room, water and access to the main areas. Laundry was a separate expense, as was electricity, which needed to be sorted among the 10 of us, although this often didn't happen. In fact, people were so lousy at putting in electricity that the power would often go out (which then infuriates everyone with groceries in the fridge, not to mention the damage it must be causing the appliances). There was also no way of checking that everyone put their share in, though the system of trust must have been faulty because at a time, one persons R200 contribution was lasting a mere 2 days. Suspicions then turned to those using the tumble drier and heaters excessively, although nothing could really be done about it.

The house next door was large, and visibly less kept. This is where many African foreigners resided, many of whom work in the area. One of those people was our domestic helper, who came in part time to clean the main areas, and our rooms every week. She was from Malawi and was struggling to get her daughters enrolled in a local school due to visa issues. The quiet of the house was often disrupted by her mobile phone, which played loud gospel music and sermons. There were issues had between her and some of the housemates, who felt the house was not clean. Amid the uncomfortable tension in the house, the drain in my shower was blocked, so the helper let a plumber into my room while I was away. She then took and posted photos of the hair blocking the drain, and the cups which I had left in my room,

and shared them in our house's Whatsapp group. I was horrified and felt my privacy had been infringed upon, and then made a complaint. However, the landlord sided with the helper and suggested that if I was unhappy, I ought to move. So I did, to a cottage two streets away.

The cottage I relocated to was slightly cheaper and much smaller, but I was on my own. On the property was a main house and three smaller private rooms which were all rented out on AirBnb, except for mine which was the smallest and cheapest of the lot. Cheap here was R5800 all inclusive. The property owner was a foreigner who has bought two properties in the area and gained his wealth through a past career in the IT industry. It was he who referred to the room as a "happy cage." This became my room, my four walls for the upcoming months. Days here were filled with guinea fowls heckling outside and Rashad working on the property, putting up creepers and installing washing lines.

#### AirBnb Cooking Experience: Bo-Kaap Culture by the Bite

This cooking class introduced me to the food of the culture, which forms a significant role in understanding it. Through the food, elements introduced by slavery are present and when it comes to eating, elements of the sense of community and friendliness can be seen. It was from this experience that my relationship with the Abrahams family grew. It was an incredibly important part of the research as it also showed the primary way in which some community members share their culture and bank in on the abundance of visitors to the area through tourism. This can be an incredible positive experience, as the culture is shared with others, who are able to play an active role in understanding the community, which will therefore have an impact on the fight to preserve the heritage. This is exemplified by the personal connections made, as well as the ability to generate an income that yields positive results, which in many cases is what is able to keep a family living in the area.

Fayruza Abrahams, Zahir's aunt, runs a successful AirBnb cooking experience from the house. In this household, food is always an occasion: tea is always a must and it needs to be brewed properly, with the teabag left inside, oftentimes accompanied by freshly baked bread or freshly made koe-sisters. Dinner time is an occasion too, as everyone, including Tia sits around the table to enjoy a meal, with talk and laughter. On the weekends, Zahir's three young nephews visit and the house is filled with childhood memories in the making for the boys. Driving up one of the cobbled streets in Cape Town's Bo-Kaap district, passing by the famous colourful houses, you'll make a turn onto Lion Street. Fayruza stands just outside her family home, eagerly awaiting guests to join her Airbnb cooking class experience, where the next three hours are dedicated to preparing — and enjoying — traditional Cape Malay cuisine.

As guests gather around the table, not yet knowing the historical significance of the home they're standing in, everyone begins with a taste of faluda, a rose drink, commonly drunk in times of celebrations. Then, it is time to move straight into the kitchen where onions are being caramelised. At the heart of this traditional cuisine are the spices, which are passed around to be experienced by the senses: first we look, then touch, then smell, and finally taste from the aromatic selection presented in ramekins. As we discern what they are, and learn how each family has its own special blends, we blitz them in a mixer and add them to the onions. And just like that, we have the most important part of the dish done: the base of the curry.

Fayruza sits the guests down at the table, sharing the story of how she learnt to make samosas, showing everyone the folding technique to get them just right. Once the folding, filling and frying is done, it's time to make sambals — an accompaniment to spicy foods, providing relief from the burn in the form of a refreshing mix (usually of tomato and cucumber). Other ingredients are added to the curry before it is left to cook and develop in flavour. Meanwhile, guests head to the table, ready to mix and roll rotis (buttery flatbreads). Each guest rolls out the mixture — with a hint of garlic and a sprinkle of coriander — until it becomes transparent, and then heads over to the hot cast-iron pan to oil and fry the rounds.

At this point, the cooking is complete and the guests can take a seat at the table in preparation for the three-course meal. First, there are the sambals and samosas, perfectly crisp and delicious. The second course is the curry and rotis, eaten using our hands as is the tradition. The third course is a surprise dessert to finish off the meal. A classic favourite for many is the koesister. Unlike the Afrikaner version (koeksister) which is braided, Fayruza's is essentially a spicy doughnut ball, dipped in syrup and coconut. One cannot leave Cape Town without it, and Fayruza is the goto for this treat, as she also supplies the famous Rose Corner Cafe a street away.

Fayruza fondly recalls when cooking legend Sunny Anderson came to her cooking class, having booked under the pseudonym "Happy". Families, solo travellers and students from around the world have all passed through Fayruza's kitchen, where they immersed themselves in the culture of Bo-Kaap and enjoyed a feast around the table, leaving with new friends, recipes and barakat (a parting gift/blessing) of spices to take home.

At one point, Fayruza lived with five generations of her family together under one roof. She understood from an early age what it meant to have food fresh from the farm to the table. Since early childhood, she enjoyed learning how to cook dishes of which the recipes had been passed down from her family, which led to her special bond with her father, who adored her dishes. In her household today, every family dinner is an occasion, where the table is set and the family come together over the meal. Fayruza aims to build a community through her cooking experiences.

Community is an important aspect of Bo-Kaap's culture, and all guests at the classes will get a strong sense of this. The experience allows her to pay homage to her heritage, as guests actively participate in tourism that is proudly South African and socially responsible. Once the guests have been adequately fed — from both a cultural and a culinary perspective — goodbyes are exchanged, and Fayruza wishes her guests well as they amble the historic cobbled streets to explore the rest of Bo-Kaap.

I was able to be a part of this experience and to enjoy it as anyone of the other guests who partake, be it local or international travellers. Being familiar with the family, though, meant I was able to attend a once-off 'AirBnB fine dining experience' too, where I assisted as a waitress. This, along with my background knowledge on the area, meant I was able to see how a local delivers context on the area to visitors in a short amount of time.

### Eid al-Adha

Being the home of Islam in the country, it was important to include an Islamic celebration as part of the research. As mentioned, Islam has a great presence in the neighbourhood and has influenced the culture a great deal. These observations showcased various parts of the culture, from the food, to the faith and the sense of community, which was warmly extended to myself.

Eid Al-Adha is the second Eid of the year, and is a commemoration of the willingness of Ibrahim to sacrifice his son Ishmael as an act of obedience to Allah. During this time, families often purchase a lamb which is then sacrificed. In the week leading up to the day, there was a growing collection of lambs on a field in Bo-Kaap. On Eid, people could be seen there, some performing the sacrificial act, while others skinned the lamb. The meat from this is then offered to those less fortunate, in an act of charity. Dahraan and I passed the action, with him asking me if I wanted to go watch one, which I politely declined as I didn't believe I had the emotional stamina yet.

This Eid spans across a couple of days and often coincides with the return of people who went on Hajj, a religious pilgrimage. During the first Eid celebrations, I had been invited for tea with friends of the Abrahams family after their day of festivities. This time, I had an invite to both of the days of celebrations and I was ecstatic.

A week before the event, I asked Aunty Fayruza if I could borrow a scarf for the occasion. She let me go through her wardrobe which had a never ending supply, all neatly arranged by their colour. She selected a light green one for me to wear with gold trimmings, although I saved this for the second day of celebrations which I was invited to Dahraan's other side of the family (invitations are handed out with welcoming ease). Having studied fashion in my undergrad, this was a unique experience for me, as there is much to be said regarding fashion's link to identity politics when it comes to the hijab. What I knew for sure is that the scarf did not make me feel any less freedom or empowerment, as is often lambasted by the media and certain activist groups.

I headed out in pursuit of a modest yet fashionable Eid outfit, which I found thanks to the store 'expert' in the matter at H&M. The expert was a young woman wearing a scarf, whose excitement regarding my efforts for this Eid celebration almost exceed mine. In the end, we settled on a midi black satin skirt, which I then paired with heels and a long sleeve black shirt.

The next day, I was dressed and my makeup was done, with crimson lipstick to match the colour of the scarf. Wearing it, I felt really beautiful I was excited and draped it simply after deciding to steer clear of the more complicated styles I had seen in youtube tutorials.

Dahraan and Zahir came to fetch me. We headed down to Lion Street at lunch time, after the family had returned from having a breakfast at their family in District Six and attending the mosque there. Dahraan said to me: "You pull the look off hard," to which I giggled, content to be fitting in so well.

Lunch was plentiful: there was denning vleis, which is a tamarind lamb dish, some offal dishes (which I politely avoided), and a delicious crayfish curry. Everyone sat at the table, with children running and playing nonstop, popping up every now and then between the adults conversations. Once we had eaten, everyone sat discussing memories of their childhood, as we waited for the food to settle before dessert and tea. Dahraan's father was the main story sharer, telling us of how he struggled to get ready in the mornings, and of police run-ins he had, much to the disdain of his mother, fondly referred to as Ma.

It was a special time to share with the family, who were all happy to spend the day together, sharing in each other's company and enjoying the delicious spread of meals. I did not feel like an outsider in anyway and this event inspired me to do more research on Islam in a personal capacity.

### The Duke and Duchess of Sussex

Cape Town has an interesting past, deeply rooted in colonialism and remnants of that area are visible in the city today, especially when it comes to the Cape Dutch architecture and traditions such as the annual Kaapse Klopse, a tradition which is adored by some and abhorred by others. Those are the kinds of dualities which were present on the day which the Duke and Duchess of Sussex came to visit. From an ethnographers point of view, it was interesting to see the disinterest by some, met with the excitement of others.

News started circulating about three weeks prior to the visit by the British royals of their itinerary, which included a visit to Bo-Kaap. The visit would fall on Heritage Day, 24 September, and they would be visiting the Auwal Mosque, South Africa's oldest mosque, before having tea. Excitement was felt, in particular by the "Aunty's" of society. Wanting to get a glimpse, we walked to Wale Street where police were milling around as pedestrian gates were sectioning off Wale Street. Walking down to the barrier, I noticed something missing about the street, something which has been evident for years: the Palestinian flags were no where to be seen. I had no idea whether this was related to the visit, but it was strange and unwelcome, and no one on the internet seemed to notice or care. Many people had gathered on a field nearby, and it appeared there was a show happening. The front row was filled with "mochies" or elderly women, all of whom were "gedoekie." They were there to see the minstrels, or the Kaapse Klopse who were performing. The minstrels moving through Bo-Kaap is a tradition which is centuries old, born



from times of slavery. They wear gaudy uniforms and face paint to match, performing ghoema music and dancing.

The crowds lined up on either side of Wale Street's newly erected barricades. We stood for an hour, keeping a careful eye on the media which were opposite the famous arch, through which we all expected Prince Harry and Meghan Markle to step through. The sun's beams were unkind, and children tried their best to get close to the barrier, with parents trying to keep them calm and entertained during the wait, with instructions to: "Shake their hands when they come say hello."

Minutes passed, minstrels performed and then suddenly, it was time. We saw Harry in a neutral toned suit and Meghan in a maxi olive dress stepping through the arch to greet everyone who waited to welcome them. Unfortunately for everyone on our side, the royals went straight to the other side to greet bystanders, with a woman following behind closely to collect flowers and gifts. There is no telling if the two girls next to us who had a sign discussing femicide had anything to do with that.

They stopped to greet a group of paraplegic people before continuing down Chiappini Street where they were to have tea and, of course, koesisters. With that, the visit was over at least for us, as we lost sight and the royals continued on their tour of the country. While some people in the crowd were very excited, some having travelled there specifically for this, others simply made their way from the nearby event, or walked out onto their stoeps and looked out their windows to see the action.

There were by no means massive crowds, but Bo-Kaap did turn up nonetheless, and I had never seen the area quite so busy and chaotic before. Media and commentary on the visit was either smitten with the visit, or weary for the love shown to colonisers.

### Photo Essay

This series of photographs were taken and then sorted, revealing six clear themes. These themes are: scene setting (the famed streets), signifiers (of gentrification), consumerism (tradition vs modernity), the state of life (of the residents), the culture (preserving the heritage) and the politics (support for Palestine).

One image shows a wall and while it is not outright clear, it says: "say no to gentrification." The silver paint lays on a royal blue residential wall. This marking displays the sentiment of the locals, and the medium is accepted too, accompanying the "Save Our Heritage" boards which are visible throughout the neighbourhood. Graffiti directly opposes the comforts of gentrified spaces as it tends to signify an unacceptable art form, signalling the disintegration of a neighbourhood.

In the next series of photographs, I attempt to show the state of living by the local residents. These are families who have lived in their houses for generations. We see RDP houses, some of which have been renovated. We also see decaying houses and stands, and several cars which South African's would classify as "skorokoro's," or cars which have visible issues of wear and tear, with some missing windows, for instance. This contrasts the newer houses, ones which have been renovated, such as a completely modern house currently on the market for R8million. Many of these houses are AirBnb houses, or servicing house-share's, which tend to be dominated by interns from Europe and affluent youth who want to be near the city centre.

Shops in the area also showcase inequalities and disparities in demographics, as captured in the photo essay. We see examples of a bike shop, as well as a vacant shop. We see a bottle store, even though the area is predominately Muslim nondrinkers. This is contrasted by the many informal corner shops, which service the locals with cash only electricity and basic grocery top-ups. Important to note that those who work in these corner shops are often foreign nationals from third world countries who have found solace

in the neighbourhood which too is Muslim and are trying to make a living. This is unlike the foreigners who are buying the properties in the area, who are wealthy and originate from first-world countries.

In the opening photographs, there are shots of Wale Street, which is the most famous main road where tourists descend everyday. The houses lining the cobble street are all painted in bright hues, and dotted along are shops which have been open for years, like Rock Sole shoe repairs and the Atlas spice shop. This is what draws people in, as the aesthetics of the historical brightly hued houses make for the perfect photo opportunities. The reason for the houses being colourful dates back to the turning tide of democracy, when people wanted to celebrate their freedom visually, after being unable to paint their houses during the apartheid era.

The photo essay then displays gentrified spaces in the form of one of the most hotly contested developments. In 2018, protesters attempted to block a crane from coming into Bo-Kaap a crane which was headed to this development. It is apartments, which have been painted colourfully, although aesthetically it appears full in comparison to the houses, and, of course, does not carry the same significance. Alongside this is another visible contraction at Rose Coffee Shop, one of the area's oldest and arguably the most prominent cafe. In the top image, we see a stop sign which is bent. The image below it shows a fancy car, showing an economic gap between the demographic and the infrastructure.

One of the indicators of gentrification in an area is coffee shops, which I have also included in the photo essay. Bo-Kaap has a high-end coffee shop called Deluxe, which is owned and run by a Canadian. People of the Bo-Kaap who have been fortunate to retain their homes despite trying times, and have cash to invest in the area have done so, and such is the case with Batavia. This is another high-end coffee shop, though it is run by a local family. This is an attempt by the residents to get involved in the area, and to share in the opportunities provided by the tourists.

The next set of images in the photo essay attempts to display aspects of the culture which are of great importance and can be seen visually. This includes mosques, as this is the home of Islam in South Africa. Another image shows a woman affectionately known as Auntie Fayruza, who lives in her family home, which has been in the family for three generations. There is also an image from her AirBnb cooking experience, as food is a significant aspect of the culture. It is the culmination of a variety of influences and is unique to Cape Muslims (previously referred to as Cape Malay's). Another image shows the newly opened Goema centre, which celebrates the rich music and entertainment of the area.

The following images show the roads, and where tar meets the cobbles. Uber drivers are notorious in the area for complaining about the historical roads, often canceling trips up as they attempt to avoid any damage the roads may cause to their shock absorbers. This is one of the ways in which the old meets the new in the area. The roads vary, with some winding and narrow, others wide what is always evident, though, are cars and street parking. We see a photograph of an intersection just above the main road, where tourists normally turn around, and where residential life begins.

In the final images, we see the support for Palestine in the area, which has always been very visible. One shows a flag at a residential house, and the other alongside a wall with "BDS" and "Hamas" written on it. There are often fundraisers for Palestine in the area, which is openly supported as they have faced a similar fate of apartheid, as well as being part of the Muslim brother and sisterhood. One of the prior images in the photo essay showing a house with graphic images in the window of injustices against Muslims around the world, from Afghanistan to Serbia. There has also been flags of Palestine across Wale Street for years, however these were removed the community is unsure of who removed them, but the timing of it was close to that of the visit by the royals.

A various set of miscellaneous photos taken through the year have been included on the website. This illustrates the experiences of immersion into Bo-Kaap and snippets on the three main events as detailed above. These images are candid shots that add visualisations to the above mentioned findings.

### Podcast

#### Episode 1: Introduction

Episode 2: My interview with Zahir Abrahams. Mr. Abrahams lives with his family in their generational home in Bo-Kaap, which became a second home to me. He provided a contextual start to the area, touching on various topics, including the way forward for this series in terms of disseminating the unique culture of the community. It provides a clear overview of the topic and the willingness of himself, a resident, to have the research project be conducted.

Episode 3: I interviewed Shafiq Morton in this episode. He was one of my leading sources who is both an author and journalist, so it was important for this interview to be shared early on. Morton's most recent book, *From the Spice Islands of Cape Town – The Life and Times of Tuan Guru*, explores the early beginnings of Bo-Kaap as the birthplace of Islam in the country.

Episode 4: This episode detailed an interview with Bilquees Baker. Baker explained how she relocated to the area over two decades ago and has since assimilated with the culture and has become an activist in the area.

Episode 5: An interview with Munier Parker, who has a longstanding career in the media industry, which we discussed, along with some childhood memories and his role of acting as a community journalist by broadcasting what was happening through live streams on Facebook.

Episode 6: In this episode, I spoke with Shereen Misbach who was my eldest interviewee had a vast collection of stories from Bo-Kaap and presented community-based views in our discussion. Our discussion touched on her book, as well as the concept of lived gentrification, where cultures can clash, or as she so aptly put it: where peace is disturbed. The topic veered slightly off track when comments were made by regarding the way in which women dress and the consequences thereof from one culture to the next.

Episode 7: In this episode, I shared a recording from Dudley Malgas's last firing of the gun after 39 years. It demonstrated a key moment in Malgas's life which has had a significant role in being part of the areas tradition of firing the gun.

Episode 8: Yusuf Voterson spoke with me for this interview. He works as a tour guide around the Cape, including Bo-Kaap. He met with me and took me to the Auwal Mosque for my first-ever visit inside a mosque for this interview, where he showed me the oldest Qu'ran in the country. We discussed the tours he does (the kind of stories he shares with tourists) and his childhood memories.

### **Conclusion**

The community in Bo-Kaap continues their attempts of retaining and preserving its culture, despite ongoing and rapidly growing gentrification. This ethnographic collection of work explores the area in terms of visual (photo essay), audio (podcast) and theoretical (this academic essay) analysis. In this way, the culture and realities of life in Bo-Kaap have been documented and analysed, adding to the current academic information and studies on the area in an alternative, multimodal and holistic sense.

This ethnographic study provides insight into the current underpinnings of the area in 2019, which has been a missing element in recorded academia on this topic. It is supported by the podcast series which explores culture through various interviews with key members of the community and showcases

authentic sit-down discussions. During these interviews, one gets a sense of the sentiment and memories of those who have and most who continue live in Bo-Kaap. The interviews are raw in that they display the hospitality and warmth of the people of Bo-Kaap.

Bo-Kaap has been analysed visually through the photographic essay, which was inspired by a related course on visual anthropology. The photographs show the dualities of life in Bo-Kaap, between the tourism hub and the generational family lives; the monied and the poor.

Ethnographically, three major occurrences from year were analysed, namely a visit by British royals, Eid and an AirBnb cooking experience. This all highlights the culture of the community and why it is imperative that it is protected and preserved, as it touches on various aspects of the community and culture: political, religious and touristic.

This research paper examines gentrification in Bo-Kaap and examines the subsequent effects there-of on the preservation of cultural heritage. Gentrification in this area is analysed as a special case in Bo-Kaap as it is the home of Islam in South Africa, as well as being set in a prime location of the city.

This research paper, as supported by the photographs and podcast, demonstrate the way in which gentrification is affecting Bo-Kaap, as the community battle to protect it. It also provides insight into what the culture is all about. Further academic studies are needed to assist the community members in their plight to preserve their culture and heritage. This is also a critical neighbourhood to be analysed in relation to gentrification happening throughout the city of Cape Town.

This research unearths the culture in a way that had not yet been recorded and demonstrated, adding to the current recordings and academic research on Bo-Kaap. This was done in such multimedia approach as an authentic scholarly contribution. It examines the culture and what makes Bo-Kaap unique from the importance of Islam and its Asian roots, to its positioning during apartheid, and how its has become gentrified and the tourism hub that we see today.

LINK TO CREATIVE PROJECT: <https://shannon9527.wixsite.com/Bo-Kaap>

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